UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records

SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
13th meeting
held on
Wednesday, 30 October 1991
at 10 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 13th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. PIBULSONGGRAM (Thailand)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 74: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

This record is subject to correction.
Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, Room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate corrigendum for each Committee.

Distr. GENERAL
A/SPC/46/SR.13
1 November 1991

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 74: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/46/169 and Add.1, A/46/185, A/46/254, A/46/591 and A/SPC/46/L.9)

1. Mr. WATSON (United States of America) said that peace-keeping had long been one of the success stories of the United Nations. Recently, thanks among other things to the new atmosphere of global cooperation, the opportunities for the Security Council to make use of peace-keeping in pursuit of the goals of the United Nations had expanded enormously. The United Nations had responded meaningfully and creatively to both those opportunities and to the needs they created. There had consequently been a substantial expansion in the demands placed on the United Nations and ultimately on its Member States.

2. The changes that had led to that expansion of activity had also led to a revitalization of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. Its recommendations, as embodied in General Assembly resolution 45/75 and in its current report, reflected an entirely appropriate approach. The Special Committee had focused primarily on areas within its particular competence, thus avoiding the kind of duplication which created confusion and wasted human and fiscal resources. While noting the importance of preventive diplomacy, for example, the Special Committee had avoided duplicating the work of other committees in that area. It had, moreover, focused on what the membership as a whole could do to support the expanding number and scope of operations. Ways of encouraging, channelling and maximizing the support of Member States were, in his delegation's view, the Special Committee's primary vocation.

3. The Special Committee's report also reflected the continuing outstanding support provided by the Secretariat in its reports, studies and guidelines. The Secretariat had been particularly helpful in making itself available to the Committee to exchange information and ideas. His delegation was confident that the Committee would remain aware of the need to avoid burdening the Secretariat in such a way as to distract it from its primary task of managing the growing and more complex operations in the field.

4. Peace-keeping was not without its toll, and the United Nations owed a debt of gratitude to those who had given their lives in the service of its cause. None of the achievements of the past 46 years would have been possible without the dedication of the brave men and women who had placed themsleves in danger in the cause of peace.

5. His delegation was pleased that the Special Committee had played a role in the revitalization of the United Nations. It hoped that the Committee would continue to focus on its particular areas of expertise and thus maximize the ability of all Members of the United Nations to strengthen the institution of peace-keeping.

6. Mr. MIRDHA (India) observed that all peace-keeping operations, now so numerous and multi-faceted, must be based on the consensus and consent of the parties concerned, a clear mandate from the Security Council, and a respect for the Charter and for State sovereignty.

7. It had been argued that the dramatic expansion of United Nations peace-keeping in recent years warranted a redefinition of the concept, but India felt that any substantive modifications would be premature.

8. The Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had reflected the urgency and topicality of the Organization's peace-keeping efforts in its detailed discussions on the status of forces agreements, standard operating procedures, training procedures, identification of focal points in the United Nations system, and the use of civilians in peace-keeping activities. The Secretariat as well had done praiseworthy work in assembling information on country peace-keeping expertise and capabilities, which would facilitate a quick response in crises. India favoured broadening the geographic composition of peace-keeping forces, since the widespread participation of contributing countries should reflect the broad-based consensus on which the operations rested.

9. The Special Committee should give further attention to the distribution of responsibilities among the Secretariat bodies involved, in order to streamline peace-keeping operations. The possible role of organs such as the Military Staff Committee, a strategic body established under the Charter, had, for instance, been overlooked. Also, it was not clear if the many posts authorized under the support account for peace-keeping operations were fully staffed or even if the posts were sufficient to meet the requirements of the new peace-keeping operations.

10. The financing of such operations should be considered in greater detail and should be put on a standardized rather than ad hoc basis. Costs might be reduced if there were more consultation with Governments in the planning stages of the operations. Also, in order to lessen the financial burden on developing countries, the Special Committee should look into the possibility of calling upon them as far as possible for contributions in equipment and supplies.

11. From the outset, India had been a faithful contributor of both military personnel and civilian experts to many peace-keeping operations in different parts of the world, and was proud of its reputation in that regard.

12. Colonel OSBORN (Australia) said that there had been a fundamental change in attitude within the international community to the peace-keeping function of the United Nations, as reflected in the growing number of present and planned missions. The function of peace-keeping was now being stretched further and more frequently than ever before and that situation needed to be closely monitored, a task for which the Special Committee and the Special Political Committee had a particular responsibility in providing leadership and stimulus.

(Colonel Osborn, Australia)

13. In that connection, the report of the Special Committee (A/46/254) offered only limited grounds for encouragement. New and useful proposals had received general support, progress had been made in resolving long-standing issues and the list of recommendations was a worthwhile contribution, but more was needed and a number of crucial issues had not been conclusively dealt with. Specifically, the Secretary-General still lacked adequate resources to carry out his responsibilities fully, particularly regarding the provision of a well coordinated and responsive planning and management staff. His delegation looked forward to the report of the team appointed by the Secretary-General to review the planning and management of peace-keeping operations. A further problem was posed by the convoluted financial processes which were currently hampering the timely launch of one of the Organization's most demanding operations, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). Unless agreement was reached on provision of adequate funds promptly for the start-up phase of operations, the process of peace-keeping and the success of operations would be jeopardized. Concrete and practical remedies had been proposed by his delegation and others, but caution had always triumphed over vision.

14. His delegation welcomed the fact that the draft resolution recognized the importance of the Secretary-General's peacemaking role, since it was likely that the new climate of international cooperation would lead to an expansion in activities under that heading. However, as the Secretary-General had pointed out in his annual report, there were a number of problems inhibiting such an expansion, including the need for a better means of acquiring information on incipient conflict and for parties to conflicts to adopt a more positive approach to peacemaking. Additional resources and new approaches were required if the challenges were to be successfully met.

15. It was appropriate for peacemaking to be dealt with in a resolution on peace-keeping, since a more active United Nations role in peacemaking would help resolve disputes at an earlier stage and thus reduce the need for peace-keeping operations. The current international circumstances offered an unprecedented opportunity to effect changes in peace-keeping, and that opportunity must not be wasted.

16. Mr. SIDOROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the current session of the General Assembly had revealed an increased interest by Member States in enhancing the role of the United Nations as a unique instrument for maintaining a comprehensive peace and in using United Nations machinery effectively for settling regional conflicts and building a stable world order. That attitude was associated with the emergence of a new post-confrontational era whose hallmark was recognition of the absolute value of the ideals of democracy and individual freedom, and the need for global cooperation to solve the world's chief problems. His delegation noted with satisfaction that the United Nations was now casting off the trammels of ideological confrontation and becoming a reliable instrument of international security. The United Nations was well placed to curb aggressors and to

(Mr. Sidorov, USSR)

restore justice either without resorting to military force or by using the force commensurate with the circumstances on a collective basis. In that context the role of the United Nations in halting and reversing Iraq's aggression against Kuwait was to be commended.

17. Experience with United Nations peace-keeping operations indicated that the active engagement of United Nations armed forces and observers not only helped localize volatile situations and persuade the parties to begin a political dialogue, but also contributed to specific tasks such as bringing about national reconciliation, organizing free elections, forming a representative government, providing humanitarian assistance and establishing international safeguards for the implementation of bilateral agreements and Security Council resolutions. His delegation welcomed the new trends in peace-keeping operations, including the increase in the number of participating States, the more extensive use of civilian and police components and the interaction among the five permanent members of the Security Council.

18. Developments in various regions showed that a world which was experiencing radical transformations was not immune to the risk of destabilization. There was therefore an urgent need to strengthen the preventive potential of the United Nations and to concentrate its efforts, particularly those of the Security Council, on identifying and preventing incipient conflicts. His delegation had submitted specific proposals intended to ensure better use of the preventive potential of the United Nations at the forty-fourth and forty-fifth sessions of the General Assembly as well as in a joint Soviet-United States statement (A/45/598). Interesting ideas and proposals in that area had been put forward during the most recent session of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and in the Secretary-General's current report on the work of the Organization.

19. The paramount responsibility for preventive action lay with the Security Council, whose powers to take such action should be reinforced. Many opportunities in that area remained unexplored, for example, the idea that the Security Council should dispatch observer missions to potentially dangerous regions after consulting with the relevant regional organizations and individual nations. In addition to the Security Council, practical use should be made of the preventive capabilities of the General Assembly, the International Court of Justice, the Economic and Social Council and the Secretary-General. In practical terms, efforts should be directed towards identifying effective means within the United Nations of deterring potential aggressors and towards the careful development of legally defined procedures for joint response to acts of aggression and threats to international peace. Such machinery could embrace consecutive stages of data collection and processing, the preparation of a report assessing the possibility that a conflict might arise and taking preventive and, if necessary, enforcement measures in the Security Council. An expert study should be prepared on the specific components of such machinery, including the use of the Charter's provisions on making contingents of armed forces available to the Security

(Mr. Sidorov, USSR)

Council and on the role of the Military Staff Committee and the establishment by it of regional subcommittees (article 47).

20. As peace-keeping operations became more comprehensive, there was a need for thorough study of the problem of institutionalizing the entire peace-keeping machinery. The Special Committee had already moved in that direction, and the Soviet Union had submitted a document containing its own preliminary ideas on that score. In its view, the joint effort might result in a declaration or other instrument summarizing the positive experience and the new trends in United Nations peace-keeping operations and including universally acceptable approaches to carrying out such operations with the consent of interested nations in cases of ethnic conflict on their territory.

21. In order to make peace-keeping operations more effective, a number of practical issues would have to be resolved. The Special Committee had been discussing those issues for years, and it was time for practical implementation of its numerous recommendations. The Soviet Union would support an extension of the range of suppliers, matériel and services for peace-keeping operations. Samples of the engineering, logistic and other equipment it could supply had been demonstrated to a representative of the United Nations Secretariat in May 1990. It would also be prepared to consider making certain types of military aircraft available on commercial terms for airborne monitoring in support of United Nations missions.

22. The effectiveness of United Nations operations would be largely determined by the level of training of their personnel. The standard guidelines for military personnel training drawn up by the Secretariat were useful in that respect and could be applied in national and regional training programmes. Other proposals of practical interest included setting up international and regional training centres, the bilateral exchange of experience, exchanges of trainees and holding training workshops.

23. His delegation saw a need for a comprehensive study of the problems involved in extending peace-keeping operations beyond the traditional functions of such operations, for example, facilitating the conduct of free elections, contributing directly to the advancement of democracy and eliminating internal instabilities caused by ethnic tensions which posed a threat to regional and international security. The time had come to begin working out basic parameters to define the participation of United Nations observers in national elections. Moreover, his delegation believed that United Nations assistance in the conduct of free elections by nations seeking such assistance should gradually evolve into a major independent area of the Organization's activity not necessarily associated with peace-keeping operations.

24. Providing a sound financial basis for peace-keeping operations was another important issue. As the number of such operations was increasing dramatically, ways should be sought to limit their financial requirements by

(Mr. Sidorov, USSR)

defining optimal time-frames for their conduct, determining reasonable numbers of military and civilian personnel to be involved and intensifying efforts to achieve early political settlement of the conflicts in question. Considerable additional sources of financing could be found for peace-keeping operations, in particular by drawing on funds and capabilities of regional organizations, making wider use of donations from non-governmental organizations and the business community and encouraging host countries to provide conditions permitting a reduction of the cost of operations. The financial burden on States resulting from peace-keeping operations could be further reduced by drawing a clear distinction between the actual cost of such operations and the parallel spending required to provide technical, humanitarian and other assistance, which should be financed by voluntary contributions or through the active and well-coordinated involvement of United Nations specialized agencies and departments responsible for such assistance.

25. Mr. BAEV (Bulgaria) said that peace-keeping operations were without a doubt one of the most effective instruments available to the Organization as, standing at the centre of a new world order, it pursued its primary peacemaking and peace-preserving mission.

26. Bulgaria welcomed the new productive direction taken by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. In paragraph 79 of its report (A/46/254), it had put forward a series of useful, specific recommendations which, his delegation was pleased to note, figured prominently in draft resolution A/SPC/46/L.9. The implementation of those recommendations would enhance the efficiency of peace-keeping operations at a time when their expansion posed organizational and financial problems. The United Nations should draw more fully on its ample and varied experience in the field, and the Special Committee should accordingly consider drafting a declaration on United Nations peace-keeping operations that would touch on basic organizational and practical aspects and recommend ways of conducting such operations more efficiently. It was creative flexibility of the United Nations, combined with its strict adherence to the principles of the Charter, that had contributed so much to its remarkable achievements in peace-keeping in recent years.

27. The preventive potential of peace-keeping operations should be explored more fully, and the establishment of an early-warning system within the existing United Nations structures would enhance the Organization's ability to monitor potential crises and take prompt preventive action. The availability of objective and accurate information was a precondition for successful peace-keeping activities, and Bulgaria therefore welcomed the draft Declaration on Fact-Finding Missions scheduled for adoption by the General Assembly. The proposals set out by the Nordic countries in document A/46/591 also contained useful ideas for enhancing the peace-keeping and peacemaking capabilities of the United Nations.

28. Peace-keeping was a dynamic, evolving concept, and the United Nations now had experience of operations that went beyond the traditional framework of

(Mr. Baev, Bulgaria)

peace-keeping to include spheres such as the monitoring and organizing of elections, the monitoring of the observance of agreements and of the observance of human rights. That was a welcome trend, but the extent of United Nations involvement in such activities needed further discussion. His delegation supported the Austrian proposal regarding the requirements that a country should meet in order to have an election organized or monitored by the United Nations.

29. The extension of the scope of peace-keeping operations had been paralleled by their diversification as a result of the inclusion of civilian personnel. The Secretariat should consider issuing a second questionnaire on the capability of States to contribute to civilian contingents where needed, and the data should be compiled in a special registry at the disposal of the Secretary-General.

30. There should also be a broader involvement of Member States in peace-keeping operations; the principle of rotation was a means to that end that would be in keeping with the new spirit of cooperation in international relations and with the requisite higher standards of efficiency. As one of the countries that until recently had never been given the opportunity to participate in peace-keeping operations despite its expressed readiness to do so, Bulgaria had responded willingly to the Secretary-General's questionnaire about its contributory capabilities. It saw its participation in the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) as a direct fulfilment of its duties under the Charter; and it stood ready to participate also in forthcoming operations, notably the one in Cambodia, which promised to be the most challenging and diversified ever undertaken.

31. As a first-time participant, Bulgaria was naturally interested in the issue of personnel training. Its MINURSO contingent had attended special intensive training courses, using expertise made available by other States, and Bulgaria was currently setting up a peace-keeping personnel training centre. The training guidelines issued by the Secretariat in 1991 had been particularly useful, and his delegation looked forward to other such comprehensive documents on the training of civilian specialized units, as recommended in paragraph 79 of the Special Committee's report. Also very useful in that respect were the various international seminars, and the Secretariat should become more actively involved in coordinating and organizing such events. Bulgaria supported the possible establishment of an annual peace-keeping fellowship programme and welcomed Canada's intention to make available a special paper on its experience in training.

32. Mr. ACET (Turkey) said that increasing experience in the field of peace-keeping operations should make it possible to eliminate the shortcomings of present operations and maximize the effectiveness of future ones. However, peace-keeping operations should be a temporary solution paving the way for lasting settlements, and the ultimate aim should be to devise a means of preventing conflicts from occurring, a question which the Committee should explore thoroughly.

(Mr. Acet, Turkey)

33. His delegation had always stressed the importance of securing the consent of the parties to a conflict when undertaking peace-keeping operations or renewing their mandates. It also felt that long-term operations in particular should be subject to periodic review, making it possible to streamline them where appropriate so as to minimize costs. Similarly, peace-keeping mandates should be reviewed and, where necessary, modified to ensure they corresponded to the prevailing situation.

34. With regard to finance, all Member States must meet their obligations, particularly as new large-scale operations were being undertaken at a time when the Organization was facing serious financial difficulties.

35. The increase in the number of troop-contributing countries was an encouraging sign of universal support for peace-keeping operations, and those countries with past experience in the field should play a leading role during the inception of new operations. His own country had expressed its readiness to contribute further to present and future peace-keeping operations.

36. Turning to the report of the Special Committee, he said that both long-standing issues and new ideas needed to be looked at closely. The participation of civilians in peace-keeping operations was important in enhancing their effectiveness, although care should be taken when using civilians in operations of a military nature. Training of civilian and military personnel was very important, and the willingness of States with experience and facilities in that field to cooperate with others was welcome. A possible United Nations role in providing such training in future should be further studied and, in that context, he welcomed the training guidelines issued by the Secretariat.

37. Mr. CHENG Jingye (China) said that the expansion and progress of peace-keeping operations had become a symbol of the active role of the United Nations in international affairs, enhancing its prestige and bearing witness to its effectiveness. He paid tribute to all the military and civilian personnel involved and to the valuable work of the Secretary-General.

38. He hoped that the forthcoming peace-keeping mission to Cambodia would abide strictly by the mandate laid down in the relevant Security Council resolutions and would assist the Cambodian people in realizing the objectives stated in the peace agreement on Cambodia recently signed in Paris, by restoring that country's independence, neutrality and non-alignment at an early date.

39. The role of peace-keeping operations in preventing conflicts was increasingly recognized, and his delegation favoured the use of preventive diplomacy with the consent of the countries concerned, in line with the provisions of Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter and as stressed by the Secretary-General in his recent annual report. A number of proposals for strengthening preventive diplomacy had been put forward in the past, and further in-depth discussion of the matter was needed.

(Mr. Cheng Jingye, China)

40. His delegation wished to reiterate some of the important guiding principles for peace-keeping operations, which should conform to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, be agreed upon by the parties to the conflict, fully respect the sovereignty and independence of the host country, refrain from interfering in internal affairs and strictly observe neutrality and fairness. His delegation shared the view of some other delegations that elections were part of the internal affairs of a Member State and that United Nations monitoring should only be undertaken with the consent of the country concerned and in the context of a peace-keeping operation. A sound financial basis was vital to the success of peace-keeping operations, and all Member States should pay their assessed contributions in full and on time. Efforts should also be made to enhance efficiency and promote economy in the planning and management of operations.

41. His country attached considerable importance to peace-keeping operations, as witnessed by its sending of military observers and election supervisors to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine (UNTSO), the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM) and MINURSO on different occasions, as well as by his Government's co-sponsorship with the International Peace Academy of an international symposium on peace-keeping operations in Beijing in April 1991.

42. Mr. ZVONKO (Belarus) said that the past year had confirmed the positive direction events were taking in the world and the impossibility of a return to the days of bloc enmity. During the Gulf crisis the world community had achieved a high degree of unity regarding the inadmissibility of aggression and the United Nations had begun to function with an effectiveness that matched its potential.

43. The peace-keeping operations of the United Nations were a striking demonstration of the changes in the international community's approach to conflict resolution and the peacemaking role of the United Nations. Those operations had gradually taken on new dimensions, including fostering national reconciliation, disarming conflicting factions, ensuring the withdrawal of foreign troops from a country's territory, solving refugee problems and, as in the case of Namibia, assuming a whole range of practical functions.

44. His delegation welcomed the reports of the Secretary-General and the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. The Special Committee's report in particular raised a number of interesting questions, including that of the financing of peace-keeping operations. In conditions of scarce resources it was important to rationalize their use.

45. A number of interesting ideas had been put forward for expanding the functions of future peace-keeping operations, for example, by providing assistance in the case of natural disasters or helping combat narcotics trafficking and organized crime. However, his delegation felt that the evolution of peace-keeping operations should not outstrip the evolution of the

(Mr. Zvonko, Belarus)

United Nations itself. At the current stage, it would be useful to assess the experience acquired with peace-keeping operations and to define the principles and criteria which should govern them. The proposals made in the annex to the Special Committee's report (A/46/254) would constitute a useful basis for further work in that direction. Other ideas which merited study and support were the inclusion of the Military Staff Committee in peace-keeping operations, the use of naval forces and the internationalization of peace-keeping forces and the use of such internationalized forces within a regional framework, as had been suggested in the case of Europe. From that point of view, the establishment of a register of national contingents and material and technical resources available for peace-keeping service would constitute a useful contribution. His country was prepared to participate in such non-military activities of United Nations peace-keeping forces.

46. In his delegation's opinion, the use of military and non-military contingents and police forces and involvement in environmental activities would be central to the discussion of future peace-keeping operations. It was therefore important to give attention to the question of the training of civilian personnel, making use for that purpose of the experience acquired in the training of military contingents.

47. Mr. SAVUA (Fiji) observed that while current East/West relations had removed the likelihood of super-Power confrontation, the rise of nationalistic, ethnic or religious conflicts between and within States had made United Nations peace-keeping operations crucial. It was to the Organization's credit that it had been able to launch such operations with little forewarning and to respond flexibly to the demands of different situations.

48. The mounting of UNIKOM, the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) and MINURSO and the revamping of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) in the past 12 months exemplified the broadening of the United Nations peace-keeping role. Other operations like the United Nations Observer Group for the Verification of Elections in Haiti (ONUVEH) and the United Nations Guard Contingent in Iraq (UNGCI), while not falling within the generally accepted definition of peace-keeping operations, indicated possible areas of future deployment. His delegation fully supported the sending of electoral missions provided they were requested by Governments with wide popular support. The humanitarian assistance rendered by the Guard Contingent illustrated the useful role civilians could perform, over and above their traditional role, as in the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

49. Past successes warranted optimism that the planned Cambodian operation would achieve all its objectives. In other areas like Lebanon, success had to be measured in smaller increments, but even there the Government was moving positively to regain sovereignty over all its territory, and its neighbours should cooperate by withdrawing their armed contingents from the country, so

(Mr. Savua, Fiji)

that eventually the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) could be phased out. It was always easy to see the raison d'être of the large peace-keeping missions while the smaller but equally important ones, like the Office of the Secretary-General in Afghanistan and Pakistan (OSGAP), the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) and the UNTSO observer teams in Palestine, went unheralded.

50. Fiji strongly supported implementation of the recommendations in the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. They would have a real bearing on the way Fiji, as a troop contributor, prepared possible future participation in operations. Its training of troops would become geared more specifically to the likely areas of deployment, and its Mission at Headquarters would find it easier to deal with a single interlocutor in the Secretariat who would ensure coordination between the different units and with the contributing States. A time-frame must be set, however, for the implementation of the recommendations if the good intentions were to amount to something. The response at all levels must be made more systematic and precise, otherwise the Organization would continue to be lumbered with the current ad hoc nature of its activities. Also, in order for past, current and future troop-contributing countries to have faith in the ability of the United Nations to meet its financial obligations, money must be made available for peace-keeping operations by all States in full and on time.

51. Ms. BROWNE (Ireland) associated her delegation with the statement made by the representative of the Netherlands on behalf of the States members of the European Community. With four new operations already launched, 1991 had been another landmark year in the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations. Her delegation shared the concern that the Organization should be properly prepared and equipped to address the new challenges and opportunities which it now faced. By the same token, Member States must vest in the Secretary-General the authority that would enable him to carry out successfully the peace-keeping tasks entrusted to him.

52. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had made a useful, if modest, contribution to improving the preparedness of both the Secretariat and the Member States: its discussion of issues had been informative and the increased participation of the Secretariat in its work had proven to be very constructive.

53. Three elements were essential to the success of any peace-keeping operation. First, although the pressure for cost-efficiency and savings had increased due to the growing number of operations, each operation must have adequate resources, particularly during the initial phases. Secondly, all parties to a dispute should cooperate to facilitate the role of the United Nations and should, in particular, ensure the safety and security of its peace-keepers. Thirdly, the United Nations should conduct an ongoing assessment of all operations to ensure that each received its due allocation

(Ms. Browne, Ireland)

of resources. Good organization and adequate staffing levels in the Secretariat were therefore essential, in which context her delegation looked forward to the results of the recent study of the Secretariat structure.

54. Stressing the arrears still owed to her Government and other troop contributors, she urged the delinquent States to fulfil their obligations without delay, since their failure to do so had placed an unfair additional burden on the troop-contributing countries. With respect to UNFICYP, she expressed hope that the Security Council would reach the long overdue decision to move its financing onto an assessed basis in line with the recommendation of the Secretary-General.

55. Mr. POPESCU (Romania) said that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations was the most appropriate forum for fresh ideas and approaches, and he welcomed the new organization of its work whereby attention was focused on the in-depth consideration of a limited number of topics and fruitful dialogue with the relevant Secretariat officials was possible.

56. His own country had now paid its arrears to the special budget and had joined the large group of troop-contributing countries. Romanian personnel were undergoing special training with a view to participating in future peace-keeping operations. He welcomed the training guidelines issued by the Secretariat as well as the Special Committee's recommendations on the establishment of regional training centres and on access to the specialized programmes run by the more experienced Member States. New peace-keeping contributors also attached great importance to informal meetings, which provided an opportunity to share experience, and to maintain contacts with the relevant Secretariat units. He welcomed the proposal to identify focal points within the Secretariat where information on peace-keeping operations and training could be obtained.

57. With regard to finance, the increasing number and complexity of operations placed greater responsibility on the Member States, which all had both a moral duty and a legal obligation to pay their assessed contributions in full and on time. The current situation was alarming and concrete measures rather than good intentions were needed to guarantee the sound financial basis of activities. In the case of UNFICYP, he understood the concern of a number of delegations concerning the reimbursement of expenses and hoped that the Security Council would take the decisions needed to put the operation on a sound financial footing.

58. With regard to the growing emphasis on preventive diplomacy, he felt that much remained to be done in the field of collecting information on potential incipient conflicts, but that the possibilities offered by the Charter should be fully exploited before creating new instruments to monitor insecure areas of the world. The aim of preventive diplomacy should be to make it clear to potential aggressors that the international community was closely watching developments which might threaten the security of States and was ready to respond decisively.

59. Mr. SUPHAMONGKHON (Thailand) said that his delegation had been a strong and early advocate of a United Nations role in preventive diplomacy, which could spare the international community the expensive burden of future war. Given that such diplomacy was dependent upon the timely availability of accurate information, Thailand had also long advocated the creation of an early warning system at the United Nations, in which connection he expressed support for the work currently being undertaken in that respect by the Office for Research and the Collection of Information. Preventive diplomacy included the United Nations role in both peacemaking and peace-keeping, which had now become an integral part of its activities, much success having been achieved in recent years alone. His delegation had no doubt that peacemaking would contribute to international peace and security.

60. Peace-keeping operations, deployed to monitor cease-fires or to facilitate the implementation of peace agreements, had Thailand's firm support, as demonstrated by its participation in UNTAG and UNIKOM. His delegation also welcomed the recent signing of the Cambodia peace agreement in Paris, marking the successful conclusion of a comprehensive political settlement which owed much to the efforts of the permanent members of the Security Council, the member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations and the other concerned parties. UNTAC, once launched, would represent new ground in the field of peace-keeping and would undoubtedly provide new lessons for future reference. Given its proximity to Cambodia, Thailand could extend assistance to UNTAC if required, and would be pleased to cooperate with the United Nations in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia.

61. With a view to enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations peace-keeping operations, the Secretariat should designate a focal point for training activities given that much depended on the prior training of personnel. His delegation believed it worthwhile to establish regional and national training centres, and additionally supported Singapore's proposal regarding the creation of a fellowship programme. It further advocated the use of high technology in peace-keeping operations where it was cost-effective and efficiency-enhancing to do so. Noting the benefits to be gained from informal consultations, he stressed the need to maintain effective communication between Member States and the Secretariat, which should ensure that the former were fully updated on a regular basis. Finally, his delegation urged a greater investment in peace-keeping, for which both assessed and voluntary contributions were necessary to ensure that sufficient funds were available as soon as a peace-keeping operation was authorized.

62. Mr. EXARCHOS (Greece) said that his Government had recently increased its support of United Nations peace-keeping activities by contributing both military and civilian personnel to UNTAG, UNIKOM and MINURSO, and was prepared to make similar contributions to future operations where necessary. Given the collective responsibility to maintain international peace and security, all members of the international community should make their own contributions. His delegation was convinced that the Organization stood to gain from the discussions and proposals concerning the improvement and possible enlargement

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

of current peace-keeping operations, and particularly welcomed the ideas on the subject contained in document A/46/1. It also believed that further exploration of the role of peace-keeping operations in preventive diplomacy would be appropriate.

63. As the cost of such operations was the shared responsibility of the international community, the necessary finance should be raised from assessed contributions, for which voluntary contributions, whilst very welcome, were no substitute. UNFICYP was the only current peace-keeping operation financed through voluntary contributions, an anomalous and anachronistic situation which required correction: receipts had fallen far short of the amounts required, leading to an accumulated deficit in the UNFICYP account in excess of $US 180 million. The burden was being shouldered by the few troop-contributing countries which, on average, were only reimbursed to the tune of less than one third of their costs. Having consistently supported the calls to finance UNFICYP by assessed contributions, his Government welcomed the Security Council's decision to consider alternative arrangements which would place it in on a more secure financial footing. In common with the other troop-contributing countries of UNFICYP, it also fully supported the ensuing recommendation made by the Secretary-General in document S/23144, which it appealed to the members of the Council to adopt. Finally, he wished to record his Government's pledge to maintain its total contribution to UNFICYP at the present voluntary amount of $US 800,000 annually, even if its assessed contribution under a new system should happen to be lower.

64. Mr. HACHANI (Tunisia) said that his country had always supported United Nations peace-keeping operations, as witnessed by its participation in the Congo-Kinshasa operation in the early 1960s and, more recently, in the operations in Namibia and Western Sahara.

65. The sweeping changes currently affecting the world could in the short and medium term give rise to regional tensions, and the emphasis now understood being placed on preventive diplomacy was thus readily understandable. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Charter already offered extensive scope for diplomatic and legal initiatives for forestalling and, where necessary, resolving disputes between States. Strengthening the political role of the United Nations, allowing its decision-making bodies to examine problems in depth before they degenerated into armed conflict and settling legitimate claims within the framework of international law were all ways of preventing conflicts from arising. Peace-keeping operations were intended to be provisional measures to deal with genuine threats to international peace and security, and to interpret that concept too broadly could place the United Nations in a difficult situation with regard to the principle of State sovereignty.

66. The funding of peace-keeping operations was a collective responsibility, and all Member States should be called on to pay their contributions rapidly. Those countries in a position to do so should make additional voluntary

(Mr. Hachani, Tunisia)

contributions, and the idea of setting up a special fund for that purpose was worthy of consideration. Given that resources were limited it was vital that they be effectively managed and, with that in view, the decentralization of purchases in close cooperation with regional and subregional organizations was preferable to the idea of creating a stockpile of equipment for peace-keeping operations.

67. His delegation was keen to exchange ideas on training, and welcomed the readiness displayed by some States to give other States the benefit of their long experience in the field. Finally, he commended the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and fully endorsed the proposal to open the meetings of the Committee and its working groups to observers from other States.

68. Mr. MAHMOOD (Pakistan) said that owing to the welcome expansion in United Nations peace-keeping operations as a result of the marked improvement in the international political climate, the United Nations found itself, for the first time in its history, in a situation where it could actively pursue its primary objective - the maintenance of world peace and security. As a country which, through UNMOGIP, had directly benefited from United Nations peace-keeping activities, Pakistan appreciated their vital role.

69. His delegation favoured the argument for crisis prevention, and fully shared the Secretary-General's views regarding preventive diplomacy in his report on the work of the Organization (A/46/1).

70. Pakistan felt that States should not use the issue of consent as a pretext to circumvent the collective will of the international community. The concept of consent had to be balanced against the obligations that Member States had assumed under the Charter, particularly Articles 2 (7), 24 and 25. As a matter of principle, the Security Council could not be required in every instance to obtain prior consent to the establishment of a peace-keeping operation. That was especially true in cases where the area in question was under dispute or under foreign occupation, and the consent involved would be that of the occupying Power. Furthermore, the mandate, character or duration of a peace-keeping operation should never be altered without the express approval of the Security Council.

71. A sound financial basis was a prerequisite for the success of any operation, and Pakistan shared the concern that a number of Member States had not paid their assessed contributions on time and in full.

72. Peace-keeping operations needed to be seen in their proper perspective. They were not ends in themselves but rather a means of maintaining peace while efforts were being made to settle a dispute by negotiation. A peace-keeping operation should, however, remain in place while negotiations were in progress, because the very presence of United Nations troops acted as a barrier to an immediate resort to force and created a better environment.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records

SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
14th meeting
held on
Thursday, 31 October 1991
at 10 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 14th MEETING

Chairman:	Mr. PIBULSONGGRAM	(Thailand)
later:	Mr. SCHAFER (Vice-Chairman)	(Germany)
later:	Mr. PIBULSONGGRAM	(Thailand)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 74: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

This record is subject to correction.
Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, Room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate corrigendum for each Committee.

Distr. GENERAL
A/SPC/46/SR.14
4 November 1991

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

91-56953 5067S (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 74: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/46/169 and Add.1, A/46/185, A/46/254, A/46/591 and A/SPC/46/L.9)

1. Mr. BOUTSKO (Ukraine) said that in the present period of transition from the era of cold war to one of partnership and friendly cooperation, the importance of the United Nations as a centre for harmonizing the interests of States and coordinating their efforts to find collective solutions to global problems had greatly increased. Its ability to function effectively as an expression of the collective will of States to defend universal values had been successfully demonstrated in the case of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. The world's increased confidence in the possibilities of the United Nations was reflected in the growing interest being taken in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

2. His delegation shared the view that since the danger of reversions to aggression and the use of force continued to exist, appropriate and effective machinery should be created under Chapter VII of the Charter to deal with such acts, and the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations should be further strengthened. To do that, and to make it possible to extend those operations effectively to the new areas, such as the supervision of democratic elections, now arousing interest among Member States would require the assistance of all kinds of experts; his delegation therefore supported the idea of expanding the civilian component of peace-keeping operations and thought that the idea of establishing a register of civilian personnel available for use in such operations deserved attention. The training of both military and civilian personnel for service in peace-keeping operations had also become increasingly important, and his delegation therefore supported the proposals that a single person in the Secretariat should be appointed to coordinate all such activities and that the Secretariat should prepare a set of guidelines for such training.

3. One of the main conditions for the success of United Nations peace-keeping efforts was the prevention of conflicts. His delegation therefore supported the adoption by the General Assembly of a declaration on fact-finding, which would facilitate conflict prevention efforts. It was also important to have a clearly defined programme to guide further work by the United Nations in the area of peacemaking and peace-keeping, and the adoption by the General Assembly of a declaration on peace-keeping would therefore also be valuable.

4. His delegation shared the concern expressed at the problem of financing peace-keeping operations. Accordingly, it advocated very strict budgeting of resources and use of voluntary contributions, as well as measures by host countries to help the United Nations reduce the cost of such operations. Moreover, in cases where such operations might be protracted for many years, a

(Mr. Boutsko, Ukraine)

percentage of the costs of such operations might be reimbursed by the parties to the conflict. Such an arrangement might also serve as a further stimulus to the solution of the problem.

5. His delegation would continue to do everything in its power to support the activities of the United Nations for the strengthening of peace, security and cooperation.

6. Mr. KOHOUT (Czechoslovakia) said that the deepening spirit of partnership and cooperation in the international community augured well for a qualitative shift in the future use of the peace-keeping potential of the United Nations. Peace-keeping operations were one of the most important instruments the United Nations could use in contributing to the solution of regional crises and conflicts. In contrast to the past, when they had served mainly to separate the hostile parties, they now had more complex functions directed towards peaceful settlement of the conflict. His country's confidence in the capacity of the United Nations to solve basic issues of peace and security was reflected in its unequivocal support of the institution of peace-keeping operations. In 1990, it had opened its own peace-keeping training base at which over 100 military observers and a complete unit of battalion strength had already been trained. His country was ready to participate fully in future peace-keeping operations as a troop-contributing State.

7. His delegation applauded the useful steps taken during the current year to systematize the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. The training guidelines worked out by the Secretariat were very useful, and the proposal for establishing an annual peace-keeping fellowship programme was interesting. His delegation also supported the proposal to establish a register of civilian personnel for peace-keeping operations.

8. His country's interest in strengthening its involvement in peace-keeping operations made it attentive to their financial aspects. Although it did not rule out various sources of financing, it felt that under Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter, the financing of peace-keeping operations was a collective duty of all Member States provided that the Security Council had adopted a decision to that effect. At the same time, maximum efficiency must be achieved in the use of financial resources during peace-keeping operations. A solution to the problem of standardization and wider use of high technology in those operations would help to achieve that goal.

9. Mr. SADER (Uruguay) said that preventive diplomacy was a new name for one of the central functions of the United Nations as set forth in Article 1 of the Charter and further developed in Chapter VI - to serve as an instrument of mediation contributing to the conciliation of legitimate claims and interests. Recent changes in the world had made it possible to solve many long-standing problems; indeed, freed of ideological confrontation, the Security Council had been able to act effectively both in the implementation of Chapter VII of the Charter and in many new peace-keeping operations.

(Mr. Sader, Uruguay)

10. However, since the machinery of the United Nations was sometimes inadequate to prevent conflicts, as the Gulf war had demonstrated, it seemed necessary to strengthen the abilities in that respect. In doing so, however, basic principles of the Charter, particularly those of sovereignty, self-determination, non-intervention, the sovereign equality of States, territorial integrity and respect for human rights, must be borne in mind. A balance must also be maintained among the main organs of the United Nations. One way of doing that, as the Rio Group had suggested in the statement on revitalizing the United Nations it had submitted to the General Assembly, was to strengthen the role of the Secretary-General. From that point of view, the suggestions made by the Secretary-General in his latest annual report that he should be authorized to request advisory opinions from the International Court of Justice, that an information system capable of providing the United Nations with early warnings should be established and that it should be possible to dispatch fact-finding missions in the case of incipient conflicts, were of great interest.

11. The use of machinery similar to that employed for peace-keeping in order to prevent conflicts was not to be excluded, but such operations must be subject to the same principles and include the same guarantees, including the prior consent of the parties, as peace-keeping operations in the stricter sense. Nor should the primary role of regional organizations, as provided for in Chapter VIII of the Charter, be forgotten in efforts to make fuller use of the potentialities of the United Nations. It must also be remembered that the concept of international security contained economic and social elements which were becoming increasingly significant. The creation of a more equitable world economy based on greater international cooperation and juster terms of world trade would be an effective form of preventive diplomacy.

12. The success of the peace-keeping operations carried out by the United Nations had contributed in large measure to the restoration of its prestige. But, although they had grown in number and complexity, the principles on which they were based remained the same. Those principles included the consent of the States to a peace-keeping operation except in implementation of Chapter VII of the Charter, the rule of good faith in terminating such operations, obligatory consultation with the host country on the composition of the forces involved, freedom of movement and communications for the personnel of the operation and non-intervention in domestic conflicts. Other principles not essential to such operations, such as those of the non-participation of permanent members of the Security Council in the peace-keeping force, had been set aside recently, but constituted a useful element of the general machinery for such operations.

13. It was also essential that such operations should be placed on a sound financial basis. Except for the case of UNFICYP, the present system seemed adequate, and his delegation would therefore welcome the institutionalization of the present scale of assessments. It was also important that the assessments should be paid promptly and in full.

(Mr. Sader, Uruguay)

14. Discussion of all the questions he had referred to should be as open and universal as possible. His Government accordingly attached particular importance to the Special Committee, in whose work it had recently participated as an observer. The Committee's most recent report reflected the usefulness of its work. His delegation was in favour of establishing an informal system of more frequent meetings by the Committee and felt that, in view of its increasing importance, summary records should be kept of its plenary meetings. However, neither summary nor verbatim records should be kept of the working group, in order to preserve its informal character.

15. Uruguay continued to support the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations and, in order to strengthen its own participation, was now in the process of creating administrative coordination machinery for that purpose. It was also establishing a training unit for civilian and military personnel participating in peace-keeping operations. His country considered such training essential and was ready to join with other countries in similar efforts.

16. Mr. SALAS (Mexico) said that the marked expansion in peace-keeping operations over the past year, both in scope and diversity, raised important issues regarding the human, material and financial resources required, and regarding possible new mandates and areas of application.

17. On historical grounds, Mexico did not participate directly in peace-keeping operations, although it consistently supported the diplomatic resolution of conflicts and had paid its financial assessment for peace-keeping operations in full. The main responsibility for their financing must fall on those States which, under the Charter, had the major political responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security; and their financing should be based on the special scale of assessments. Additional voluntary contributions were another possibility, but they should not obscure the fact that financing was a collective responsibility of all States, and they must not be used as a means of introducing conditions or privileges that might tarnish the image or political effectiveness of United Nations operations.

18. No matter how valuable, peace-keeping operations should be a last resort in dealing with conflicts. The best formula for establishing and preserving peace was the commitment of States to international law, as had recently been reaffirmed at the Ibero-American Conference of Heads of State and Government held in Mexico in July 1991. Such a commitment required a sovereign exercise of will by States, and Mexico had therefore always insisted that actions under United Nations auspices in fulfilment of the Charter must guarantee the inviolable sovereignty and internal jurisdiction of States. The same applied to action taken in the context of preventive diplomacy.

19. It was, of course, important to defuse potential conflicts, but Mexico believed that the use of peace-keeping operations preventively was being

(Mr. Salas, Mexico)

recommended too readily. The Organization would, for one thing, find itself overextended administratively and financially. Also, it was not always obvious how a potential conflict might evolve, and the United Nations might find itself enmeshed in politically sensitive actions. Furthermore, the basis for any peace-keeping operation - just as any fact-finding or verification mission - must be the consent of the parties involved.

20. Mr. Schafer (Germany) took the Chair.

21. Mr. RAKOTONDRAMBOA (Madagascar) said that the working methods of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should be maintained during future sessions, in view of the excellent results obtained.

22. The end of the cold war and the increasing prestige of the United Nations had resulted in the launching of new peace-keeping operations aimed both at settling conflicts and at establishing the economic and social, as well as political, conditions for lasting peace. The broad mandate of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) served to illustrate the pressing need to strengthen the Organization's human, financial and material resources. As had been pointed out in the Fifth Committee, the growing number of missions placed even more demands on an overworked personnel. In the case of the Cambodian mission, personnel requirements far exceeded those available at the United Nations. Assistance from Member States in that respect was thus essential.

23. There was also a need to address the issue of outstanding payment arrears to the regular budget and to peace-keeping operations. Despite its difficulties, Madagascar reaffirmed its financial and other obligations entered into pursuant to the United Nations Charter.

24. Mr. MROZIEWICZ (Poland), noting the increasing number and widening scope of peace-keeping operations, stressed that they were nevertheless only temporary measures, supplementary to the process of political settlement of conflicts.

25. His delegation was particularly pleased to see that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had emphasized training, which was a prerequisite for safe and effective peace-keeping. Having established its own centre for peace-keeping training, Poland was now ready to share its experience and was therefore interested in cooperating in the field of training with experienced troop-contributing countries. During the coming year, the centre also intended to host an international seminar, in the belief that such seminars could be a useful forum for information exchange. Moreover, Poland was ready to discuss the possibility of running training courses for the troops of interested countries, in addition to the establishment of a regional peace-keeping training centre for the States of Central Europe.

(Mr. Mroziewicz, Poland)

26. As a strong advocate of the questionnaire regarding the potential contribution of resources by Member States, Poland believed that a regularly updated register based on the responses received was essential to the effective and efficient planning of peace-keeping operations. It therefore supported the call for countries to follow its own example of responding to the questionnaire with delay.

27. With reference to the use of civilians in peace-keeping operations, while his delegation fully recognized the important role which United Nations staff members and others could play in that respect, it agreed with Canada that in some areas of peace-keeping, military personnel were the only suitably trained and organized body capable of performing the required tasks. Furthermore, where security and effectiveness were at stake, cost-effectiveness most emphatically should not be regarded as a crucial factor in making a choice between military and civilian personnel, who were clearly not interchangeable in all instances.

28. His delegation was encouraged by the Committee's attempts to address the issues of preventive diplomacy, peace making and post-conflict management, all of which were related to peace-keeping operations and required an imaginative approach. As it attached particular importance to the continued work of the Committee on those issues it had noted document A/56/591 with great interest, and subscribed to the ideas which it contained.

29. Mr. ELIADES (Cyprus), noting that in the recent tremendous quantitative and qualitative upsurge in the world-wide peace-keeping role of the United Nations, said that further extensive United Nations involvement in peace making and peace-keeping operations was to be anticipated in the coming months. That trend reflected a significant change of attitude within the international community, and it was to be hoped that the United Nations would play a central role in the establishment of a new world order. Of course, it was also painfully evident that peace-keeping operations were costly affairs and that they must be placed on a sound financial basis if they were to fulfil their objectives. Prompt and full payment of assessed contributions by Member States was one way of alleviating the current difficulties, especially if it was borne in mind that the financing of peace-keeping operations was a collective responsibility.

30. It was appropriate, at the current juncture, to reiterate his Government's deep concern regarding the chronic financial problem faced by the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), which placed in jeopardy one of the most necessary of the United Nations peace-keeping operations. Cyprus had always contributed substantially towards the cost of UNFICYP in both monetary and material terms, despite the catastrophic consequences brought about by the 1974 invasion. In stark contrast, the country responsible for the need to establish UNFICYP and for the prolonged presence of the Force had for years made no contribution whatsoever. His Government regretted the fact that no solution to that acute problem had so far been found. The Secretary-General,

(Mr. Eliades, Cyprus)

in his latest report on the subject (S/23144), had reiterated his long-standing recommendation that the Security Council approve the funding of the costs of UNFICYP, from January 1991, through assessed contributions on the peace-keeping scale. Cyprus supported that recommendation and appealed to all those concerned to conclude their deliberations as soon as possible and to take all necessary measures without delay in order to place the Force on a sound and secure financial basis.

31. His delegation welcomed the Special Committee's report, which reflected the productive cooperation of its members, and was confident that such cooperation would be even more fruitful in future.

32. Mr. MAKKAWI (Lebanon), noting the important quantitative and qualitative changes which had recently occurred in the scope and breadth of peace-keeping operations, said his delegation shared the concern that the United Nations should have the necessary means at its disposal to carry out its new responsibilities speedily and efficiently, since an untimely lack of available resources could ultimately prejudice future peace-making efforts and settlements.

33. Civilian involvement in peace-keeping operations could in certain cases make a useful contribution in terms of logistics, finance and cost-effectiveness. Practical guidelines regarding the tasks, identified in document A/45/502, which civilians might perform would be helpful, provided that they were regularly updated and gave information on any requisite training.

34. Conflict prevention, another increasingly relevant aspect of peace-keeping operations, could, if adequate safeguards were incorporated, be an extremely viable tool in the avoidance of future conflicts. The main difficulty, however, was again the lack of means at the disposal of the United Nations to maintain an impartial and effective global watch over situations of potential conflict. His delegation agreed on the need to foster a new image of the United Nations as an instrument of mediation and reconciliation of competing claims.

35. The Middle East remained the major source of instability and potential or imminent conflagrations. In particular, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was still unable to fulfil its mandate under resolution 425 (1978) due to the continued Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon, which despite efforts by the Lebanese Government to restore its legitimate authority in the area, was being further fortified, thus dispelling any illusion regarding Israel's claims that its presence was merely temporary. That the occupation, based on a deliberate policy of expansion and annexation of a rich and strategic area, should have been allowed to continue unchallenged by the international community was a sad reflection of the failure to implement the ideals and principles of the United Nations Charter. A further disturbing development was that the Israeli-imposed administrative structures, which,

(Mr. Makkawi, Lebanon)

under resistance from the local population, carried out civilian functions in the occupied areas, were now being consolidated by the recently established and intimidating General Security Service Lebanon (GSSL).

36. During 1991, however, the Lebanese Government had successfully extended its authority further south by continuing to implement the Taif agreement. Moreover, a substantial number of well-trained army units had been deployed in the south to restore the effective authority of the Government, a deployment which UNIFIL was mandated to assist. Although arrangements were now being devised to transfer responsibility for security in UNIFIL-controlled areas to the Lebanese Army with a view to implementing resolution 425 (1978), it seemed unlikely, in view of its inflexibility, that Israel would voluntarily end its occupation at the present time.

37. UNIFIL, the spirit of sacrifice and courage of whose personnel had won the hearts of the Lebanese people, had clearly been prevented throughout from implementing its mandate. With the establishment of any peace-keeping operation, the cooperation of all concerned parties was essential, as was the full confidence and backing of the Security Council. In the case of UNIFIL, however, such conditions remained unfulfilled, given Israel's overwhelming and indiscriminate use of force to demonstrate its opposition, and given that neither the Security Council nor any influential Member State had carried out its assumed task of ensuring compliance with the decision in question. None the less, his delegation was hopeful that the very positive developments now occurring in Lebanon would shed new perspective on its abilities to control and secure its borders, thus giving the Security Council members cause to consider anew the speedy implementation of resolution 425 (1978).

38. Mr. PIBULSONGGRAM (Thailand) resumed the Chair.

39. Mr. LEAL (Nicaragua) observed that the more than 20 peace-keeping operations conducted by the Organization since 1948 had demonstrated that it was capable of dealing with breaches of world peace and turning back acts of aggression, and that the Secretariat could act with the ever-increasing versatility demanded.

40. Central America, in the throes during the 1980s of the worst crisis in its recent history, had required an active United Nations presence in the region. In 1989, at the request of the five Central American Governments, the Security Council had established the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA) to verify the implementation of the Esquipulas II accords on halting aid to irregular groups and insurgent forces and refraining from the use of Central American territory to undermine peace in neighbouring countries. The various creative United Nations mechanisms in connection with ONUCA had been decisive in ensuring the peacefulness of the elections, the transitional period and the transfer of power in Nicaragua and the orderly demobilization of the resistance forces. Since ONUCA was scheduled to end soon, his Government considered it of the utmost importance for the Security

(Mr. Leal, Nicaragua)

Council to extend its activities under a new mandate, whose nature and scope Nicaragua would be discussing with the other Central American Governments. A continued United Nations presence in Central America was essential for peace and would ensure the establishment of a reliable system of collective security and strength.

41. In 1991, the parties to the conflict in El Salvador had agreed to the establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) to verify the fulfilment of the commitments made during the ongoing negotiations, especially with regard to the observance of human rights. Throughout, the Secretary-General had endeavoured to encourage dialogue and reconciliation in Central America, most recently in Guatemala, where the Government had taken important steps towards reconciliation and had in April 1991 concluded an agreement with the insurgent force on the procedures governing negotiations.

42. In conjunction with such praiseworthy United Nations action, the desire of the Central American peoples themselves for peace and the climate of understanding between their Governments had made it possible to overcome the political crisis. Through joint efforts, the advances towards reconciliation, peace and democratization had to be consolidated and the social and economic development of the entire region had to be set in motion.

43. His delegation, recalling that in the 1990 Declaration of Puntarenas (A/45/906, annex), the five Central American Presidents had declared Central America to be a region of peace, freedom, democracy and development, believed that it was the task of the United Nations and other international and regional bodies to ensure the implementation of that crucial instrument.

44. Nicaragua supported the conclusions of the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/46/254), particularly with regard to election monitoring (para. 75), which, while not a traditional function of peace-keeping operations, should be included within their purview provided the countries concerned requested it. It also agreed that the mandate of peace-keeping operations should be expanded to include the prevention of conficts (para. 72), a question that should be considered in greater depth by the Special Committee or the General Assembly itself in the light of the recent international changes. A realistic reassessment of the United Nations role in the post-cold-war period should extend it to include action prior to the outbreak of a conflict, such as preventive diplomacy, mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of disputes and support for national or regional initiatives towards peace. The emphasis on military factors and force must give way to an emphasis on human development and justice within a universal peace-keeping operation.

45. Mr. SHOOGUFAN (Afghanistan) said that the United Nations had played an important role in bringing about positive changes in international relations and increased understanding between nations. As a result, many countries had shown interest in expanding peace-keeping operations to new areas, such as conflict prevention. His delegation was of the view, however, that such expansion should be governed by certain agreed guidelines and required close cooperation between the United Nations and Member States, particularly those which had the capacity to provide training and technical assistance. While the Special Committee should be commended on its elaboration of some issues related to peace-keeping operations, it should now focus greater attention on the effectiveness of those operations, by examining such issues as training, information, the supply and stockpiling of equipment, and others directly related to peace-keeping operations.

46. His Government had supported the diplomatic efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Afghanistan. Such a settlement might require the involvement of United Nations peace-keeping forces, and his Government was therefore interested in studying the mechanisms applied and the results achieved in other United Nations peace-keeping operations.

47. His delegation, finally, supported the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee (A/46/254) as well as the proposal that the Committee should meet more than once a year.

48. Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil) said that the previous two years had witnessed renewed interest in the mechanisms which enabled the United Nations to fulfil its mandate in the area of the maintenance of international peace and security. As confrontation gave way to a new climate of cooperation, the time had come for a reassessment of the part peace-keeping operations could and should play in the settlement of disputes or in averting the outbreak of conflict. Under certain circumstances, a tangible United Nations presence might be an indispensable adjunct to efforts to achieve a just and lasting political and legal settlement. Brazil had consistently supported such activities by the United Nations and was currently contributing military observers to ONUCA and ONUSAL, as well as military and police observers to UNAVEM II.

49. His country's commitment to peace-keeping, however, had not diminished its concern about the need to address the question of the legal basis of such operations. Peace-keeping operations were undertaken on an ad hoc basis and there was therefore need to provide them with a clear legal foundation. The international community could not forgo its responsibility to evaluate and consolidate the principles and procedures governing peace-keeping operations, which had evolved over time. The basic principles involved were well known: the launching of a peace-keeping operation must have a clear mandate from the Security Council; the prior consent of all the parties concerned must be secured; and the non-combatant role of peace-keepers should be upheld, lest their mandate be construed as involving the enforcement, as opposed to the

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

maintenance, of international peace and security. An agreed set of principles and guidelines, both political and operational, would not detract from the requirement for flexibility and would ensure that peace-keeping activities were predictable and in conformity with the principles of the Charter. Much could be done, for example, to establish a classification of different types of peace-keeping operations and to identify the specific requirements of each type.

50. Peace-keeping operations were designed to avert the renewed outbreak of conflict, and States needed to avail themselves more frequently of that machinery to resolve issues relating to areas of incipient or potential conflict. It was important, however, to distinguish between operations launched in the wake of a cessation of hostilities, as a direct result of a prior political settlement, and those that would hypothetically be deployed in the initial stages of a conflict, with a view to averting the development of hostilities. Preventive peace-keeping was no substitute for preventive diplomacy. Any preventive action by the United Nations would have to follow efforts aimed at a pacific settlement, in conformity with Chapter VI of the Charter, and such preventive action should not, in principle, involve military means. Care should be taken to preserve the logical sequence embodied in the Charter, whereby any collective action to restore the peace could only be undertaken after all diplomatic remedies had been exhausted. Consideration should also be given to the question of timing, since a situation could conceivably arise in which premature involvement by the United Nations would exacerbate rather than alleviate tensions. The question also arose of how to secure the prior consent of the parties concerned, in the absence of which the United Nations could hardly prevail upon them to settle their differences without the use of force.

51. His delegation supported the recommendation that the Working Group should meet inter-sessionally to consider practical questions related to the conduct of peace-keeping operations. The need for delegations to meet more frequently and to receive briefings from the Secretariat should be seen in conjunction with the fact that, as an evolving concept, peace-keeping operations required increased attention and ongoing evaluation. It should also be viewed in light of the need to secure the greatest possible level of support from Member States.

52. With regard to the financial aspects of peace-keeping, he supported the principle that the financing of peace-keeping operations was the collective responsibility of all Member States, in accordance with Article 17, paragraph (2), of the Charter. His delegation welcomed the Special Committee's strong support for the proposal to study ways and means of instituting the special scale of assessment, as it applied to the financing of peace-keeping operations. He hoped that it might prove possible at future sessions to acknowledge the fact that the practice of meeting the expenditures of peace-keeping operations by means of the special scale of assessment had become standard.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

53. Where institutional arrangements were concerned, his delegation endorsed the proposal concerning the possible integration of the various Secretariat units whose primary functions were directly related to peace-keeping. That would involve, at a later stage, the integration of the political and administrative units responsible for the launching and conduct of peace-keeping operations, and could improve the Organization's capacity to plan and coordinate peace-keeping operations. His delegation associated itself with the request of the Secretary-General to identify a focal point for contacts by Member States seeking information on all facets of peace-keeping operations.

54. Mr. CHOWDHURY (Nepal) said that a new world order seemed to be dawning in which conciliation and cooperation were replacing fierce ideological rivalry and an irreversible arms race, thus opening up vast opportunities for establishing a durable peace in the conflict-prone regions of the world. The United Nations peace-keeping operations were a fundamental instrument in the maintenance of international peace and security, and must be consolidated, expanded and made more effective and cost-efficient. Preventive measures must be given the highest priority.

55. Nepal had consistently contributed military personnel to United Nations peace-keeping operations in places such as Lebanon, India and Pakistan, and a number of them had laid down their lives in the service of the United Nations. His country stood ready to work with any duly constituted United Nations peace making or peace-keeping operation.

56. Adequate human, financial and material resources had to be provided, however, and it was entirely unjustifiable for Member States to fail to meet their obligations under Article 17 of the Charter. Furthermore, the troop-contributing countries must be reimbursed as required.

57. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had made invaluable suggestions on all aspects of peace-keeping operations. Nepal believed that the mandate of such operations should be extended and that the role of civilian personnel should be increased. The Secretary-General should set up training programmes for both civilian and military personnel to ensure higher standards of safety. The availability of advanced technology would also help avoid casualties.

58. His delegation also appreciated the collection of information by questionnaire, which would assist the United Nations to be prepared for any contingency at short notice. There was, furthermore, no doubt that the various units of the Secretariat must coordinate among themselves and with the contributing countries. Nepal looked forward to the drafting of a declaration on United Nations peace-keeping operations, which would reinforce the basic principles involved.

(Mr. Chowdhury, Nepal)

59. Peace-keeping operations were in essence a stop-gap measure, not an end in themselves. Peace and security could be made firm only by a scrupulous observance of the rule of law and a respect for the basic principles of international behaviour.

60. Mr. ABOUANOU (Côte d'Ivoire) said that, in view of the complexity of organizing and implementing peace-keeping operations, there was need for greater coordination between the relevant bodies of the Organization in order to ensure greater effectiveness. His delegation was aware of the difficult circumstances in which the Special Committee had carried out its work, but was confident that the end of the cold war would permit it to make a greater contribution to the Organization's work.

61. Côte d'Ivoire welcomed the use of diplomacy to prevent the outbreak of conflicts between men and nations. In order to be effective, however, preventive diplomacy must be supported by a policy of information and training, and must conform to the principles and purposes of the Charter. Preventive diplomacy based on accurate prior information could save thousands of human lives and was less costly to the Organization. Cooperation with regional and subregional organizations should therefore be strengthened in order to increase the flow of information.

62. His country attached great importance to the search for peace both within and among nations, and had always supported the settlement of international disputes through dialogue.

63. Like many other developing countries with limited resources, Côte d'Ivoire had been adversely affected by the continuing decline in commodity prices on the international market and was thereby deprived of the means of effectively participating in all the peace-keeping operations initiated by the Secretary-General and the competent organs of the United Nations. The international community should therefore urge the developed countries, in particular, to take appropriate steps to reduce the gap between the developed and developing countries. Such action would greatly contribute to reducing social tensions and to strengthening peace-keeping operations.

64. Mr. ENVERGA (Philippines) said that the recent extraordinary changes on the global political arena had unleashed the enormous potential of the United Nations to make and keep peace. Peace-keeping operations had proven to be an effective element in strengthening the system of collective security provided for under the Charter, and the award in 1988 of the Nobel Peace Prize to the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations was a reflection of the wide recognition of the value of those operations.

65. In recent years, peace-keeping operations had been mounted in areas riven by conflicts. UNTAG, for example, had led Namibia's transition to independence, and peace-keepers had stabilized various areas as the peoples of Angola, Nicaragua, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan had

(Mr. Enverga, Philippines)

chosen the path to peace. As a member of ASEAN, the Philippines had a special interest in UNTAC and looked forward to contributing personnel to that operation in order to provide the support structure for the reconciliation of the Cambodian people after many long years of fighting. His country's interest in peace-keeping stemmed from its conviction that peace-keeping complemented peace making. Thus, in spite of its domestic difficulties, the Philippines had contributed civilian guards to the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Iraq in order to render humanitarian assistance to victims of the Gulf war.

66. The success of peace-keeping operations hinged on a number of factors: a precise and workable mandate; the consent and cooperation of the parties involved; the consistent support of the Security Council; the readiness of Member States to volunteer personnel; a geographically balanced and representative force; an effective and integrated United Nations command; and adequate financial and logistical support. Indeed, resources of personnel and equipment combined with the requisite preparation and training of personnel were crucial to any peace-keeping operation. At a time when resources were inversely proportional to the increasing demands on the Organization, maximum cost-efficiency in the management of peace-keeping operations was essential. In the current review, therefore, the issue of the financing of those operations was of critical importance. The Philippines considered cooperation among Member States as the key to strengthening the financial base of peace-keeping operations. However, the call on Member States to pay their dues in full and on time should be accompanied by efforts to find a workable solution which conformed to the accepted United Nations scale of assessments. His delegation appealed to those Member States that were in a position to do so to make voluntary contributions to finance peace-keeping operations.

67. In terms of experience in peace-keeping operations, the Philippines was a neophyte and it therefore attached great importance to the training of personnel for such operations. In that connection, his delegation welcomed the training guidelines issued by the Secretariat, and called upon Member States which had national training programmes to afford interested and potential troop contributors access to them. The compilation by the United Nations of a training catalogue would also be very useful.

68. The Philippines viewed as a top priority the establishment by the United Nations of a conflict-prevention mechanism, which would include the exercise by the Secretary-General of his good offices, fact-finding missions, mediation efforts, and the establishment of observation posts in areas in which an outbreak of hostilities was likely. Such a mechanism should be established in accordance with the Charter and with due respect for the sovereignty of Member States. In view of the need for timely, accurate and unbiased information for that purpose, the United Nations required modern technology, such as a space-based surveillance system, to monitor potential conflict situations. The Philippines also saw merit in the idea that the Security Council should meet periodically at the level of foreign ministers to consider and review the

(Mr. Enverga, Philippines)

state of international peace and security. While peace-keeping had always been a dramatic way of exhibiting the international will to peace and conciliation in areas of conflict, it could not and should not be a substitute for the achievement of definitive settlements of conflicts. It was undeniable, however, that the fusion of peacemaking and peace-keeping could genuinely bring peace to troubled areas of the world. A review of peace-keeping operations was more than a question of cost-efficiency, resources and funding, or of managment and mandates. It was about people, soldiers and civilians who faced uncertainty and danger and who, in many cases, made the ultimate sacrifice for peace.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.